having the feud brought to a close, and warned them, that they would do well to support him. He also told them, that should any man seek to renew the feud he would find great trouble. The quiet of the night was broken by the kudu horn calling the men to assemble.

In the morning Akol came to inform the king that the men had arrived. The fighting men stopped at a respectful distance. Akol called the Mainam faction to come near. He was told to call the rest of his country, and he said 'it is my country' and he then called the Failo men, and they came near. The king greeted them, and then Akol proceeded to give them some advice. He informed them that the king had given an ox to be used in the peace conference. He told them that in the future they were to refrain from murder, on the road, in the fields, or wherever they might meet their neighbours. He added, "The person who will commit a murder will ruin his own house. If you have a disagreement bring a case before the king or the government. If busybodies from outside bring reports against your neighbours, do not let it estrange you again."

The young men with their weapons then moved out into an open place where they could find plenty of room for the final ceremonies. The men of each faction were separate, and Mr. Jackson, and the king stood between them. A great crowd of spectators had gathered. Some of them were from other villages, and some were men who from some reason or other could not appear in the performance even though from the interested villages.

Akol threw some dust into the air near the animal. It signified that as chief of the district he held the land, and it was also to ensure that no accident would mar the ceremony.

A time of speech making followed. The visiting chieftains made talks of exhortation in which they emphasized the uselessness of a conference sealed with the blood of a victim. The king made a talk in which he pointed out that in colour the animal to be killed had bits of both red and black. The red was for the blood that would be shed should some one break the covenant, and the black was for the evil of such a course. "We, the black people unite with the red (white) people of the government to reconcile you." He told them that Akol was to be chief, and that the other responsible men were to obey him. He informed the people that the animal was a cow of Nyikang, that it was a descendant of a cow owned by Nyikang and

537 628 643 776 that its ancestors had also been owned by Dok, son of Nyikang. (That was added because the people of this district pay great honour to Dok.) The king added most seriously, "The flesh of this animal is as my flesh, and its blood is the same as my blood. Great disaster will come on you if you break the covenant, for you will be cursed by the blood."

537 628 648 The other chief men spoke. The Inspector inquired whether or not they were ready to abide by the promises they were making, and both sides declared they were.

628 643 782 Then the king called Akol saying "take the spear". The king then took the spear to be used from the hand of his follower, who had been carrying it. The spear was held up for the people to view, and they were informed that the person, who dared to break the oath would have the spear enter his body, even as the spear would later enter the body of the sacrifice.

628 782 The next ceremony was to pull the tail of the animal. Akol pulled for the Mainam faction, but one, who would have pulled for the Failo faction was rejected as being too young. Then one of their oldest men stepped out and pulled its tail. This act they looked [787] upon as an oath, that the men pulling the tail were to bear the blame if the peace should be broken. Disaster would come both to the man who pulled and his family, should his faction break the agreement.

Akol then rubbed the spear on the back of the animal, and then called for some one to give it the first thrust. A number who were called to do it refused because they were too young, and they feared the responsibility, because in case the feud should be renewed the man who shed the blood would be held guilty. Even then a chance was given to the people to refuse. They said, If you do not want peace, do not let the blood be spilled." A man was found to strike the animal. He gave it a serious wound. The animal walked toward [787] Failo. The people declared that the animal was showing that Failo was responsible for its death, that is Failo had been the original transgressor in the trouble. One young man from the Mainam faction said the decision was sure to be against Failo because the animal had been brought from Malakal with some cattle which were then in Failo, and the wounded animal was almost sure to turn back toward them. Then men from both factions speared it, and the animal fell.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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behind him was a bearer carrying a fan made from both wings of the Saddle-billed stork joined in the middle like the letter W. He was wearing a silver bracelet on each wrist, and came down from the mound carrying two spears, each head downwards. After being seated on the stool, these spears were taken back by the chief of the Kwa Nyikang to Aturwic. A big white bull was then brought by the Ororo and tied to a stake north of the assembly.

Then the chiefs came forward one by one carrying a spear, head downwards: sometimes two got up together and a short argument arose, but the question was quickly settled by precedence. Some forty or fifty chiefs and elders each had their say in turn and after each speech the spokesman thrust his spear into the ground: if his speech met with approval (not we think the approval of the *reth* but of the drummer) he was given a tattoo on the drum, and escorted part of the way back to his place by the drummer drumming. The distance he was escorted depended on the merit of his speech. One chief, of Bur Nyiliec, came with no spear, and instead he laid a small object, probably a bead, reverently on the ground.

Most of the speeches, each of which lasted between two and five minutes, were rather trite; the following is a resumé of the more common or interesting points:-

"Anei has been elected *reth* without dissentient voice; all the Shilluk from Mwomo up to Tonga want him as their *reth*."

"All classes of Shilluk society, *kwa reth*, *bang reth*, and *colo* recognize you, Anei, as *reth*, for there was no fight on your appointment."

"The *reth* is alone and has no favourites."

"Assist your chiefs and help them to keep order."

A somewhat discordant note was struck by the chief of Tonga: "our job is not to keep order; that is your job. Our duty is to supply you with choice morsels of hippo meat."

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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537 631 643 An untraditional but common topic was: "The Government needs no introduction, you and it must co-operate; it is not like the Dervishes or Turkia; you must help to collect its taxes."

644 The speeches opened with Jago Yor Leiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, and Jago Tabo, the chief of Gol Dhiang, and finished with the chiefs of the marches Jago Ongwany of Mwomo and Jago Ding of Tonga. Each chief stuck the spear into the ground before the *reth* when his speech was ended, so that there remained a veritable forest of spears in front of the *reth* after the speech-making was over.

After Jago Ding's speech there was a short silence, after which the company started a chant to Nyikang and the *reth*. Then the *reth* got up and addressed his people, for now for the first time he was truly installed on the stool of Nyikang, and was fully become *reth*. "I have become your *reth*", he said, "and I will rule you and justify those who are aggieved."

643 782 The assembly then arose, and the *reth* moved over to where the white bull was tied. He made passes over its back with a spear, and retired. The Ororc came up, and after an abortive attempt which bent the spear, they stabbed the bull. The spears stuck in the ground were taken, some by Jago Yor Leiker, some by the men of Akwobai, who had gone to Kosti; and some by Kwa Wung.

643 644 After this came the final ceremony. The *reth*, accompanied by a few chosen folowers, was introduced to each house in Fashoda by the chief of Kwa Nyikang. There are many sites in the south east side of Fashoda where there used, in the days of *reth* Fadiet, to be houses, but Fashoa is smaller now. Tradition is strong however, and the *reth* was solemnly introduced to those sites, and told their names, and whose responsibility it was to rebuild them. When he came to the favourie house of his father *reth* Kur, a sheep was brought and prostrated before the door. The *reth* stepped over it and passed into the house, and the installation ceremonies were ended.

20: Thomson G-5 (1945-1946) 1948 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 *piny*, the planting of the spear in the ground, when the new *reth* appeared before the chiefs and notables, received their homage and addresses of exhortation, and in reply gave his undertaking to be a good and just ruler and to work for the welfare of the Shilluk people. The ceremony was simple but impressive. First of all the chiefs and [516] leading notables lined up near the base of the hill, squatting on the ground with their legs tucked beneath them in the decorous and respectful manner which is distinctive of the Shilluk. Behind them was a similar group of men of lesser importance. Then Nyikang's shield with bells on it, (which is said to be of silver), his long spear, and his throne (the *kwom*), all wrapped in new white cloth to conceal them from the gaze of ordinary men, and his drum, were brought out and taken to the bottom of the hill in front of the waiting chiefs. Here the throne was set up on a giraffe skin. Shortly afterwards the *reth* appeared, clad in a white *lau*, and wearing the royal skin of the female Mrs. Gray antelope, and a new ivory armlet, which had been specially made for the occasion. After stepping over a sheep, he walked down the hill accompanied by Nyikwor and a small party of attendants, and protected by the royal fan made of the wings of the saddle bill stork in the form of a shield. When he reached the throne, he was lifted on to it by two men of the Ororo. The bearer of the fan held it over the *reth's* head to protect him from the sun, while the bearers of the shield, spear and drum stood in front. When all was 537 ready, the shield-bearer advanced towards the rows of chiefs shaking 643 the shield so that the bells jingled, and marked out the first speaker. This was Yor Leiker, the chief of the south, on whom together with Jago Tabo, the chief of the north, who spoke second, had lain the main responsibility for the choice of the new *reth*. These two were followed by some two dozen others, ending up with the chiefs of Tonga and Mwomo (Kaka), the wardens of southern and northern marches. The speeches took the form of exhortations to the new *reth* to deal justly with his people without fear or favour, that the spirit of Nyikang was in him and the people looked to him for good crops and good fortune. And as each speaker finished he stabbed his spear into the ground and left it there. When a speech met with approval, it was acknowledged by the shield bearer and the drummer coming forward and walking round the speaker shaking the bells and beating the drum respectively. When these speeches were over, the *reth* rose up and addressed the company, went over to the bull and stabbed it, and returned once more with his party into Athudowic.

643 The ritual was over. The new *reth* was secure in the occupation

24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Jago Yorleiker, the chief of Gol Nyikang, rose to make the first speech, carrying a spear in his hand. A delay occurred as the *reth's* drummer was missing and had to be found. Then *jago* Yorleiker, followed by *jago* Thabo of Golbainy and titular chief of Gol Dhiang, and other chiefs in order of precedence came forward to address the *reth* on his installation. Nearly all carried presentation spears which were thrust into the ground in front of the *reth*, though one or two, as in the case of *kwanyireth* Akwei Anyong of Detwok, placed a bead on the ground. The speeches were on the whole short, and took the form of exhortations to the *reth* to emulate his father's example and to work closely with the Government; to pay attention to his elder advisers; to visit all the Shilluk lands and to avoid favouritism; to deal fairly with the Shilluk. As each speaker finished he was applauded by the rattling of Nyikang's shield and the beating of the drum, for longer or shorter periods according to the quality, or perhaps, acceptability, of the speech. Those who were most honoured were accompanied back to their place by the shield-bearer before the latter turned to signal out the next speaker. Last of all the chiefs to speak were *jago* Ongwany *wad* Kak and *jago* Kwathi *wad* Kudjok of Tonga, the traditional wardens of the Shilluk Marches at the northern and southern extremities of their country.

Finally the *reth* rose to speak. He walked forward to where rows of spears had been stuck in the ground and there, amid reverent interjections of *wuo* from the assembled Shilluk, he harangued the chiefs for their failure to produce the cattle of the late *reth* which were his just due.[n]

As he spoke he paced backwards and forwards along the lines of spears, evoking grudging grunts of agreement to his apparently rhetorical questions. Having delivered his speech, he stepped back, took hold of the ceremonial sword and made passes over the back of the white bull with a black face which had been tethered on his right. A Shilluk then speared the bull, again with considerable lack of skill, and the *reth* departed on his tour of the royal houses of Fashoda. A slight altercation broke out over who was to have which spears presented by the Chiefs, but the installation of *reth* Kur *wad* Fafiti, the thirty-second *reth* of the Shilluk, was over.

[n] As explained in a previous article (*S.N. & R.*, Vol. 33, Part 1) the immediate and personal heirs of the late *reth* had attempted to conceal many of the cattle which are royal property and should go to his successor.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

126 Unfortunately I was unable to stay longer, and as the actual religious ceremonies had been safely completed, I asked Yuzbashi Hussein Farag, Mamur Kodok, to return to Fashoda on the 20th and take note of any further ceremonies. The following information is from notes given to me 643 by him : « Apparently the Ret went up to his palace from the « temporary hut » during the night of the 19th. On the 20th in the morning the Ret left his palace accompanied by a large crowd. He was dressed in a game skin, and with him was the sacred stool. His escort were holding the shield. Nyakang also left his shrine escorted by a great company of people. Then 541 there occurred the mock battle with dura stalks (1). When the two armies meet, the Ret's people as though frightened of the people of Nyakang, ran towards the palace. The young girl of Kwa Okel on this day was with Nyakang's people, and when the « battle » was joined, the Ret seized her and carried her off to his palace.

778 « Nyakang then returned to the Shrine, where he is said to remain till the rainy season. Four persons are left as his escort.

« The Ret is said to stay another three days in his palace and then come 537 out and meet his chiefs. Every orator speaks in his turn and before talking puts his spear on the ground. If his speech sounds good to the people, the drum is beaten as a token of applause. The spears laid down become 422 the property of the Ret. The young girl stays with the Ret till she grows 582 up, and the Ret can then wed her to any Shilluk he pleases. »

P. Munro.

Malakal, February 1918.

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114 (1) Seligman (p. 224) states the mock battle occurs at the khor before the ceremony. No dura stalks were used on the 17th at the time of the mock fight seen by me. It would appear to be one of those instances in which different installations vary.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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643 796 himself a worthy successor of his great ancestor; Nyikang reappears and goes back to his shrine where he remains until he returns to Akurua.

The concluding ceremonies take place the following day when the chiefs from all over the country gather to do fealty to their new king. The king, seated on the sacred stool of Nyikang, faces the assembled chiefs. Each one comes forward [537] in turn carrying a spear. He makes a speech of praise and exhortation, and at the conclusion drives his spear into the ground to signify that he will never raise it against the king. The king replies briefly to the gathering, thanking the chiefs for their protestations of loyalty and promising to rule justly. [782] After the assembly a bull is sacrificed, and the reth makes a tour of inspection of Fashoda. He pauses outside his father's house, a sheep is stretched out before the threshold, he steps over it and disappears into the interior. He has come into his own.

All over the country there is a general feeling of buoyancy and relief. The shadow is lifted from the land. Nyikang is among his people again . . . long live the king!

643 797 Perhaps I may be pardoned if to this account of the position, the installation and death of the reth, I add a few words on the death of one of the recent kings, Papiti, because of the interest it has for our mission and its work. Papiti must be one of the longest lived of Shilluk kings. The twenty-ninth in succession from Nyikang, he was the son of Yor who had been hanged by the Mahdists in Kodok. He was elected king in 1917, and died in 1943; thus his reign extended over a period of twenty-six years.

From the time of the accession of King Papiti dates the [798] prosperity of the Catholic missions in the Shilluk country, or at least dates the time when they ceased to suffer persecution at the hands of the Shilluk and were permitted to live and do their work in peace, for Papiti had always shown himself a firm friend of the missionaries. He was a frequent visitor to the mission at Lul and often sent presents of hippopotamus fat, a rare delicacy, and butter. It was his authority and good